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PRELIMINARY REPORT OF COMMITTEE W, ON STATUS OF WOMEN IN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY FACULTIES

As a preliminary study of the present status of women in our college and university faculties, your committee has sent out a questionnaire to all of the 176 institutions that are represented in the membership of the American Association of University Professors and has carefully studied the printed catalogs of 155 of these. Ten of the catalogs did not give the data needed, so that this report is based upon the returns from the questionnaire and the study of the catalogs of 145 of these institutions.

Colleges for Men Only

A study of 29 catalogs and 27 questionnaire returns from 29 colleges and universities for men only, including nearly all of the more noted Eastern universities, shows that until quite recently no woman held any grade of professorship in these institutions. At present only two women are found among the nearly two thousand professors in these colleges and universities. One woman was given a professorship of the third rank in the Harvard Medical School about two years ago and another a professorship of the second rank in the Yale School of Education this fall.

Colleges for Women Only

From the examination of the catalogs of 14 colleges for women only and of 13 questionnaire returns from these, it appears that in these colleges the faculties are divided as follows:

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Professors of first rank.....	131.....	163
Professors of second rank.....	34.....	133
Professors of third rank.....	33.....	119
Instructors.....	53.....	323

These 14 colleges include nearly all of the leading separate women's colleges of the country, representing a student body of about ten thousand students.

From the above it appears that, while no professorship of the first class in a college for men only has been filled by a woman, 131 such professorships, or 45 per cent. of the total, in colleges for women only, have been filled by men. Of the 613 professorships of all ranks in these women's colleges, men hold 198, or 32 per cent., while in colleges for men only, women hold only two professorships of any rank out of nearly two thousand, or about one-tenth of 1 per cent. No woman was found holding a professorship of any rank in the College of Arts of any institution for men only.

With apparently only two exceptions, both of very recent date, it has never occurred to the authorities of the colleges for men, in which there are more than thirty thousand men taught, that women could teach successfully in a college for men, or the idea of introducing women into the faculty has been considered unwise on some ground. Apparently it has been rarely even considered. One dean replied that the committee's questionnaire "does not apply to this institution, which is not coeducational." One professor of English wrote, "As — College is not coeducational I make no report." Another dean wrote, "We have never had any at — University, as we are not coeducational." These are typical of a larger number.

If it has proved true, as seems to be universally admitted, that a certain number of men in the faculty of a college for women gives a better-balanced and more stimulating leadership to the students, it may well be asked seriously whether our colleges for men are not blindly following a medieval tradition to the detriment of the students in excluding women entirely from their faculties. This idea seems to be gaining some ground. A very able new dean in one of our most justly noted Eastern universities writes: "When we discover a woman who can handle some subject in our course of study better than a man could handle it, we shall not hesitate to urge the appointment of the woman and we shall, in all probability, be successful in getting it confirmed. . . . President — has admitted that we must in time have women on our faculty. There is, of course, a general prejudice at — against the appointment of women, but it is a prejudice that arises out of the traditional masculinity of the institution. It is neither a violent antagonism nor a judgment

based on study and experience." We do not know whether the language used in speaking of the President's attitude was intended to indicate a recent change of view on his part.

This apparently recent increased appreciation of the possibilities of women in college faculties, which shows slightly here in the men's colleges, is much more apparent in the reports from the coeducational colleges which will be discussed next.

Coeducational Colleges and Universities

The study of the catalogs of 104 and the questionnaire returns from 100 coeducational institutions shows the following distribution of faculty members:

	<i>Full Professors</i>		<i>Associate Professors</i>		<i>Assistant Professors</i>		<i>Instructors</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Academic	2,147	95	623	71	903	106	1,319	544
Education	190	9	42	17	49	15	38	43
Engineering	431	0	162	3	275	4	478	14
Medicine	826	4	267	3	352	14	876	17
Law	224	0	13	0	16	0	22	1
Commerce	54	1	17	0	43	3	109	26
Agriculture	348	0	139	0	267	2	218	12
Journalism	18	0	4	0	11	3	10	4
Music	130	19	14	5	18	13	120	14
Bible or Theology	81	0	4	2	5	3	13	1
Home Economics	1	53	1	34	0	95	0	243
Physical Education	46	9	15	10	27	34	77	100
Military Science	64	0	6	0	56	0	34	0
Total	4,500	190	1,307	145	2,022	292	3,314	1,019

From the above table it appears that women hold 190 out of a total of 4,760, or exactly 4 per cent. of the full professorships in the coeducational institutions studied, which include practically all of the leading coeducational colleges and universities in the United States. If Home Economics and Physical Education be omitted from consideration, the women hold less than 3 per cent. of the professorships. While more than 31 per cent. of the students in these institutions are women, the women hold only 4 per cent. of the full professorships, and 7.9 per cent. of all professorships, and 23.5 per cent. of the instructorships. Twenty-seven, or 26 per cent., of these institutions have no woman of any grade of professorial rank in the College of Arts and twelve others have only one each. Forty-nine, or 47 per

cent., have no woman holding a professorship of the first rank in the Academic faculty, and 25 have not even a Dean of Women.

One noted Middle-Western coeducational state university with more than 2,500 women students has no woman full professor, and only three of second rank. Seven per cent. of the faculty are women, while women students are 34 per cent. of the student body. . Another one of the same kind having a similarly large number of women students reports no woman on the faculty, except in public-health nursing. One Eastern university with more than six hundred on its teaching staff reports only one woman.

Recent Increased Appreciation of Women

The reports received indicate that there has been quite an awakening to the possibilities of women in university faculties during the last year or two. Twelve universities and colleges, among them four of the largest in the country, report having appointed their first women faculty members during this period. Others indicate that they plan doing so soon.

The following quotations are significant and typical:

"Your questionnaire is for those institutions which have faced problems as between men and women. We are coming to them."

"The attitude of our faculty and regents is rapidly changing."

"There has been a decided tendency in the last five years to more and more recognition of women in high places of responsibility."

"In the last few years the number of women has increased very materially, and our past is no indication of what our future practice will be."

"Until recently we have been unable to secure women with the Ph.D. degree."

"Our women teachers have, up until this year, been emergency teachers."

"I would at the moment give preference to the women out of deference to the tendency of the times, the attitude of the new voters in the State and the fact that men now predominate."

This new attitude appears to have been brought about by five causes :

First. The war emergency introduced women to college faculties, in which their work was found to be good and their presence not to bring the evils that had been feared.

Second. The present scarcity of good men and the impossibility of securing enough of them in competition with more remunerative work offered outside.

Third. The rapid development of departments of education, music, home economics, and public health, added to the influence of summer schools.

Fourth. A general awakening of men to the possibilities and rights of women during the war.

Fifth. The success of the woman suffrage movement, which seems to have put the "fear of God" into the hearts of not a few ever-watchful university executives.

This new attitude toward women is, however, far from universal. Many still would intone a loud amen to the following resolution passed several years ago by the faculty of one of our most noted Eastern coeducational universities:

"Resolved that if it is contemplated by the Board of Trustees to appoint women to seats in the special faculties, with titles, involving under the present statute, membership in the University Faculty, the University Faculty would welcome an opportunity to express its opinion on such action."

The women were appointed, and this faculty expressed its opinion as follows:

"The University Faculty, while not favoring in general the appointment of women to professorships, interposes no objection to their appointment in the department of Home Economics."

The Committee's Conclusion

Neither this committee nor any one else is prepared to state what proportion of the teaching in our colleges and universities should be done by women. It may be, or it may not be, that the experience of the next century will demonstrate the wisdom of allowing women to take over a larger part of the work of higher education, as the experience of the past century has shown the wisdom of their assuming the major part of the burden of pre-

paratory teaching. If we assume that women in men's colleges should have some share in the teaching and in the development of university life, and that in coeducational colleges they should have a share of the faculty labors and honors somewhat in proportion to the numbers of women students present, then the facts brought out above compel one of two conclusions: either women are not yet prepared to accept their share of university teaching, or they are deprived by traditional prejudice of a large part of their just dues.

Salaries and Promotion

The answers to that part of the committee's questionnaire dealing with salaries indicate that women receive equal pay for equal work in 73 per cent. of the eleven women's colleges and 53 per cent. of the fifty-five coeducational colleges reporting on this point. In the 47 per cent. of the coeducational institutions and 27 per cent. of women's colleges in which it is frankly admitted that women are given less salary and lower rank than men for the same work, the difference stated ranges from 10 per cent. to 50 per cent., averaging 18 per cent. In ten cases conflicting statements came from the same institution and hence were discarded.

Evidently, some of the statements tabulated need to be taken with some grains of salt. For example, one well-known president of a large Western state university writes: "The administration has no different policy for men and women. It is conscious of no difference of treatment on sex grounds." But his Dean of Women writes, "There are no women of any rank whatever on the faculty except the Director of Physical Training and myself." Another executive writes, "I have tried to make no distinction but have not escaped the law of supply and demand." This is one of the institutions at which the women have "raised a row" lately, as one male professor puts it, with the result that this executive seems to have since found strength to mitigate considerably the operation of the law of supply and demand—or to appreciably increase the "demand." A professor in the university wrote, "There is a difference still, but not so great as before."

It is very generally reported as true that, in those institutions in which equal pay for equal rank is given women, the promotion of women is much slower even when they do equally as good work as the men. To what extent this is true your committee is unable to state. Such evidence as we have seems to indicate a considerable degree of discrimination in many, even, of the institutions that report equal pay for equal work.

Women Securing Equality by Demanding It

There is evidence of a tendency to increase women's salaries in the institutions in which the women of the faculty or of the State demand it. One case has already been mentioned. From another state university a male professor writes: "Standard full professor's salary is \$4,000. Probably \$3,000 is about the limit for women at present. One woman professor was kept much below that until another one, who was highly valued, started a row over what she regarded as a general policy of discrimination against women. It ended in a scale suggested by the faculty which (wrongly, I think) took no account of sex." At a privately endowed college the trustees not long ago voted a maximum salary of \$1,800 for women and \$3,000 for men of the same rank. On learning that the women of the faculty were about to file a protest, a new schedule was voted and published making no distinction on account of sex.

These instances seem to show that there is considerable truth in the statement sent in by a male professor that women are imposed upon, "because women as a class will not fight back quite as much as men."

Reasons Offered for Paying Women Less than Men for the Same Work

Three reasons are offered for giving women lower rank and smaller salaries than men for equal work: First, the operation of the law of supply and demand; second, the necessity for the support of a family on part of the man; third, the social need of holding men in college teaching. One president of a well-known Western college justifies maximum salaries in his institution of \$2,500 for women and \$4,000 for men on the ground

that men have families to support. No evidence was offered that he practiced the same discrimination against unmarried men. Two other colleges, however, reported consistent action in this matter, one adding 30 per cent. and the other \$1,000 to a man's salary when he married.

The effect of such discrimination against women can be seen in the following quotation from a scholarly woman head of a department in one of the above colleges: "It has seemed bitter to me to have a young man without a higher degree, without special talent, and not a successful teacher, given a larger salary than mine simply because he married. I was a successful teacher of more than twenty years' experience, was professor in charge of a department at — before coming here, and hold the doctor's degree." (The wording of the above was slightly changed in order not to disclose the identity of the party reporting. The meaning and spirit are exactly as sent in.)

Your committee has considered the three reasons usually assigned in justification of giving women less salary and lower rank than men for doing the same work; namely, (1) that there is a social necessity for keeping men in college teaching, (2) that most faculty men must support families, and (3) the operation of law of supply and demand. With regard to the first, your committee cannot admit the justice of requiring women who teach in college faculties to pay out of their salaries, in effect, so disproportionate a part of the cost of supplying the admitted social need of retaining men in college teaching. If it be a *social* need that men should teach in college faculties, then it would seem that *society* should foot the bill and distribute the burden evenly instead of, in effect, taking it out of the budget of the college faculty women. Likewise, with regard to the second reason assigned, it seems unjust to ask these faculty women, in effect, to support so largely out of their justly earned salaries the wives and children of their male colleagues. Without denying the justice of additional remuneration to those who bear and rear children for society, we would suggest that such social service should be paid for by society, requiring college faculty women to pay only their proportionate part as citizens. It should, furthermore, be recognized that many of these unmarried faculty women support dependent relatives.

With regard to the operation of the law of supply and demand, your committee would call attention to the fact that the moral sense of the nation and of nearly all states refuses to allow the labor of even illiterate craftsmen and ditch-diggers to be regarded as a commodity, to be buffeted hither and yon by the unhampered operation of the so-called law of supply and demand. This being true, we believe that it is both desirable and possible to protect from any injurious effects of the operation of this law the ablest and best educated body of women in our nation, who dedicate their lives to the highest service that can be rendered to society. On this point, we would also call attention to the fact that the demand in this case comes, or fails to come, mainly from the very ones who cite the lack of it as their reason for not giving faculty women even-handed justice in matter of rank and salary.

Are Women Capable of Professional Work of the Highest Order?

Are women capable of performing the services of university professors of the highest order? If they have failed and will fail here, then they have no right to expect and should not receive honors or salaries equal to those of men.

With the purpose of securing as good evidence as was possible to obtain with regard to the success or failure that has attended the work of the women in our institutions of higher learning, what weaknesses they have shown, and what reasonable judgments and what prejudices lie back of the present condition of women in college faculties, the following questionnaire and letter* were sent to the dean and to one male and one female professor, whenever there was a woman in the faculty, in each of the institutions represented in the American Association of University Professors.

November 13, 1920.— The American Association of University Professors has appointed a committee of its members to investigate "The Status of Women in College and University Faculties."

This Committee has decided that the best beginning of its work could be made by securing answers to the questions on the inclosed questionnaire from those in the best positions to possess the information desired.

Recognizing the numerous other calls upon the time of those to whom this questionnaire is sent, the questions have been so chosen that they can be

*Present version somewhat condensed.

answered directly upon the paper as read, without tedious investigation of records, thus taking only a few minutes of time. The questions of fact involving investigation will be studied in another manner. You will note that it is mainly opinion that is sought in this questionnaire. This is one matter in which opinion is of great importance and must be reckoned with.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 1

This report will be regarded as absolutely confidential. No name will be used in connection with reports made and no material used in such manner as to disclose the identity of the party supplying the information. If you are unwilling to answer all the questions, please answer such as you do not object to answering.

Return this to Dr. A. Caswell Ellis, Chairman Committee W, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Name of institution.....Name of person reporting.....

Official position of person reporting.....

1. Are women in your faculty receiving the same salaries as men of the same rank and with equal years of service? If not, about what per cent of difference is there?

2. Have you a definite system of faculty promotions which applies to men and women alike?

3. Of two candidates, one a man and one a woman, of equal training, mental ability and capacity for work, so far as can be determined, would you give preference to the man or the woman? Why?

4. If of the two candidates the woman is superior in equipment and personality, would you hesitate to give her preference? If so, why?

5. In your opinion, how does the teaching of the women in your faculty compare with that of the men? If there is any difference, state in what respect the teaching of the women is usually strong and in what weak as compared with the teaching of men.

6. In your institution, what preference, if any, do the men students show as between men and women as teachers? What preference, if any, do women students show?

7. In your opinion, do the women of your faculty teach advanced classes and inspire students to go on to higher work as well as, or better than, the men?

8. Are women in your faculty given as large an opportunity to teach advanced classes as are men of equal rank? If not, why not?

9. On the average, do the men or the women of your faculty carry the greater number of hours of class and laboratory teaching per week?

10. In your opinion, are the women or the men of your faculty more conscientious in the discharge of their responsibilities to students both in and out of the class room?

11. (a) In your opinion, do the women of your faculty serve as satisfactorily as the men on various committees, or more so?

(b) Are the women of your faculty appointed on the committees that are considered most important to the same extent in proportion to their numbers as are the men?

12. Have the women of your faculty shown themselves physically able to handle as much work as, or more than, men in similar positions?

13. In your opinion, do the women of your faculty, while teaching, continue to advance and improve their scholarship as much as, or more than, the men of similar age or rank?

14. In your opinion, how do the women in your faculty compare with the men in point of productive scholarship?

15. Are the women in your faculty given the same opportunity and encouragement to productive scholarship as are given men of equal rank?

16. In your opinion, do the women of your faculty by their dress, personal appearance and general attitude toward life foster respect for higher education of women in the same, or to a greater, degree than the men thus foster respect for higher education of men?

17. In your opinion, do the women of your faculty take as active an interest as, or more active interest than, the men in the larger issues concerning the life and development of the institution?

18. In your opinion, are the women of your faculty interested in and conversant with the social, civic, and economic problems of the day to the same or greater extent than the men?

19. In your opinion, are the women of your faculty as efficient as, or more efficient than, the men in developing a social consciousness and a social conscience in the students?

20. What per cent of your women teachers have living husbands?

21. Is it against the rules of your institution to employ married women?

22. Is the employment of married women contrary to your custom?

23. Is it against the rule of your institution to employ as instructors at the same time a man and his wife?

24. Please make any suggestions that may seem to you wise for furthering the work of this Committee in investigating the status of women in the college and university faculties.

Two hundred and thirty-seven replies to this questionnaire from 140 institutions were received, thus giving exceptionally complete returns. Enough answers were received to give the tabulations a high degree of accuracy—all the accuracy and representative character that can be expected from this type of study. It is true that what is secured is mainly mere opinion, but it is opinion that is of so much moment in determining the status of women in college faculties. It was necessary first to find what opinions were held by those whose opinions determine the status of women.

The returns have been tabulated and leave little doubt as to what is the opinion of the faculty world on most of the important points touched on in the questionnaire. It is possible to determine to what extent some of the opinions widely held are based on fact and to what extent upon ignorance and prejudice. The necessary facts are now being collected by your committee, and therefore the presentation and discussion of the questionnaire returns will be delayed until these facts can be presented along with the opinions collected.

Respectfully submitted for the Committee,

A. CASWELL ELLIS, *Chairman*.

The Committee:

Florence Bascom, Bryn Mawr; Cora J. Beckwith, Vassar; Harriet W. Bigelow, Smith; Isabelle Bronk, Swarthmore; Carleton Brown, Minnesota; Caroline Colvin, Maine; John Dewey, Columbia; Anna J. McKeag, Wellesley; D. C. Munro, Princeton; Helen M. Searles, Mt. Holyoke; W. F. Willcox, Cornell; A. C. Ellis, Texas, Chairman.